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19. Cf. Holmberg, 1950; Murdock, 1957. Holmberg suggests, incidentally, (p. 9) that the Siriono were pushed into their present area, and were deculturated by this event. This implies that they were at a higher level of organization, which is also suggested by their linguistic affiliations with more advanced Tupian groups. These data suggest that the Siriono should always have been classified, like the Yaruro, as Tropical Forest Horticulturalists rather than as Marginals (Steward, 1946-1950, Vol. III, pp. 897-899). Cf, on this latter point, Hohenthal, 1951.

20. Nimuendajú, 1939; Murdock, 1957.

21. Conklin, verbal communication, estimates that about 50% of the land surface possessed by the Hanunóo was capable of being cultivated.

22. This figure refers to a unit of land of the same size we have been discussing for the Yaruro — 65 square miles, 50% tillable land is a factor of 100 times the Yaruros' present tillable land. We estimated 125-150 people for this area, which, multiplied by 100 produces the figures given in the text.

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distance of the gardens is too far from the village for effective or efficient exploitation. At this point a village or part of a village must move. Moving the villages involves decision-making with respect to time, new location, and so on. Plainly, moving a village involves a community decision. A community institution for handling the decision-making is necessary. Technologically speaking, the moving itself is not a community task and does not involve supervision and direction. Therefore, one would not expect the institution of decision-making to be a directive one, but a consultative one. Again this corresponds to the observed modes of action of the Yaruro chiefs. The chiefs' function is to facilitate the formation of the decisions of the community by funnelling and interpreting individuals' feelings and expressions to the rest of the members of the community.

In sum, I have presented a model of a form of ecology which, hypothetically, determines the limits within which any sort of chiefly functions may operate. This model, again hypothetically, is applicable to all cultures having the kind of technological and habitat characteristics and forms of surplus here described. I think the model applies particularly to cultures which grow root-crops such as manioc, which utilize no labor-concentrative techniques, such as irrigation, and for whose food resources notable seasonality is absent. Such cultures have been noted widely in tropical South America and also in Melanesia. In both areas, chiefly functions are notably limited as contrasted, say, with Circum-Caribbean corn-raising cultures with some irrigation and other intensive techniques[24] and with Polynesian high cultures with elaborate irrigation and other public works.[25] It should be noted, first, that the Yaruro were not far from these Circum-Caribbean chiefdoms and even show a number of trait similarities, and, second, that the Yaruro have been under Spanish acculturation, which has involved encouragement of chiefly functions, for probably 250 years. Yet, despite the pressures of both diffusion and acculturation to produce a more developed chieftaincy, the attenuated form described persists. The explanation of this persistence seems to me to be ecological. I suggest that the model of explanation presented here is based on a set of analytic dimensions — the characteristics of the technology, those of the habitat, those of the harvest surplus, and the interrelationships of these — which may be used for all cultures, but whose formal, systemic relations vary from culture to culture, or class of cultures to class of cultures, thus giving different models for different cultures or classes of cultures. By using such dimensions, one can account for cultural differences by means of a standard set of principles, thus facilitating genuine comparisons and generalizations.

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riences in shamanism, dreams, unconsciousness, and immediately after death show, is conceived as being undifferentiated and unitary, though divisible into like, but unequally active parts. No mind-body distinction is made. Again in a static and limited universe within which, however, all parts, visible and invisible, sensible or not directly sensible, are in a flux of interaction, all things have some degree of reality. The distinction "real-unreal" as it is understood in the West is lacking among the Yaruro. Further, in this same universe, those parts which we might designate "immaterial" are, to the Yaruro, quite as concrete and sensed as the so-called "material" objects and events. The western distinction between "material" and "immaterial" is not a meaningful one to the Yaruro. Finally, the unity and continuity of what westerners would call "natural" and "supernatural" has been discussed above. Such a distinction is not made by the Yaruro.

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162 River (1) has devoted one chapter to the physical characteristics

1. In Anthropological Papers, No. 11, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 123, pp. 161 to 290.

of the Yaruro. We refer the reader to this work, our own ob-
164 servations on this offering nothing very new. Let us add only that all the adults and some children of both sexes have their bodies and particularly the extremities of their limbs covered with white, painful plaques called carare, a fact already noted by Petrullo. According to the Yaruro, beginning with a certain, unspecified age—perhaps corresponding to puberty, for we have never observed it with the newborn and rarely with young children—the skin dries up in places and then loses its pigmenta-
164 tion. Again according to the Yaruro, this phenomenon, which
827 they seem to consider a blemish (they have frequently asked us if a remedy existed to get rid of it), is perhaps transmitted through the blood. When a wife is attacked by carare she infects her husband by pouring a drop of her own blood into his drink so that he will not abandon her.

164 Sanitary conditions among the Yaruro are on the whole extremely indifferent. Tests of blood from swords, carried out by Professor Mayer of the Institute of Hygiene in Caracas, and of blood previously drawn from some of the population reveal signs of severe anemia and very strong eosinophilia.

These Indians all suffer more or less, particularly during the rainy season, from colds, bronchitis, pneumonia, furunculosis, attacks of grippe with fever or marsh fever, headaches, caries and dental abcesses, pains which are doubtlessly rheumatic, and glandular inflammations. The colds, bronchitis, attacks

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12 The community has two large type I houses, the base and roofing of which, however, are rounded at the ends.

13 This community is, from its appearance, less comfortable than the others.

14 In this one also the large type I house has its base and roofing rounded at the ends.

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15 The two type I habitations of the commuhity located on the hard ground of the high, steep river banks are laid out as plan No. 4 indicates.

16 These eight type II 2b and III habitations are laid out as plan No. 5 indicates.

17 The type I habitations are too low to stand up in, even that of the chief of the community, although it is larger than the others.

23 The community has type II 1a and II 2a habitations. This latter type has a rectangular base here and an elevation, cut along its breadth, which is pointed in form.

26, 29, 30 The type I habitations of these three communities have oval bases.

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Abbreviations

B	Bulletin
BAE	Bureau of American Ethnology
BG-VB	British Guiana-Venezuela Boundary (Cf. *Maps to Accompany Documents...* 1896)
HSAI	Handbook of South American Indians
J	Journal
JSAP	Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris
LC	Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
R	Revista, Revue
SJA	Southwestern Journal of Anthropology
U	University, Universidad
US	United States
USGPO	United States Government Printing Office
YUPA	Yale University Publications in Anthropology

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* *Note:* The maps are arranged in chronological order for convenience in tracing the development of the populations and because such collections as that of the Library of Congress are arranged chronologically.